DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 069 181 FL 003 618

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TITLE	Negative Transportation and Cross-Linguistic Negative Evidence.
INSTITUTION	California Univ., Berkeley. Japanese Linguistics Workshop.
PUB DATE	Jun 72
NOTE	17p.
JOURNAL CIT	Papers in Japanese Linguistics; v1 n1 p103-119 Jun 1972
EDRS PRICE	MF-$0.65 HC-$3.29
DESCRIPTORS	Deep Structure; Descriptive Linguistics; *English; *Japanese; Language Research; Linguistic Theory; *Negative Forms (Language); Semantics; Sentence Structure; Surface Structure; *Syntax; Transformation Generative Grammar; *Transformations (Language); Verbs

ABSTRACT

This paper considers whether the negative transportation (NT) rule operating in English is operative also in Japanese and whether investigation of the phenomenon in Japanese may provide new insights for English research. The discussion begins with an explanation and examples of the NT rule in English. Japanese cases are then studied, and the semantic and structural implications considered. The author states that if the line of thinking presented in the paper turns out to be valid, it presents a case in which semantic interpretation may be preceded and followed by transformations, and even a cooccurrence restriction may sometimes be accounted for only after certain semantic interpretations. (VM)

In: Papers in Japanese Linguistics; Vol. 1, No. 1, June 1972.

ED 069181

Negative Transportation and Cross-Linguistic Negative Evidence

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Negative transportation (NT) in English first proposed, to my knowledge, by Charles Fillmore in his article, "The Position of Embedding Transformations in a Grammar," has stimulated much interesting and valuable discussion.[1] It has been assumed that a similar rule exists in many other natural languages, and this rule might certainly be applicable to Japanese as well. The NT rule in question is to account for the relationship between sentences (1a) and (1b) or between (2a) and (2b), for example, of the following kind in which the verb or adjective of the main sentence is one of think, want, believe, expect, likely, seem and perhaps a few more.

(1a) I want John not to leave until next Sunday.

(1b) I don't want John to leave until next Sunday.

(2a) I think that Bill will not come until next Sunday.

(2b) I don't think that Bill will come until next Sunday.

It is claimed that (b) sentences are to be derived from (a) sentences by moving the negative out of the embedded sentence to the main sentence. This transformation is assumed to be applicable only to the highest embedded S commanded by the verb sensitive to the rule.[2]

There has been some evidence proposed in support of the NT rule. The most putative one is the simplex sentence condition of the until phrase which appears in sentences (1) and (2) above. The condition is that the until phrase must occur in a sentence together with a semantically durative verb but not with a semantically punctual verb. Therefore, if the until phrase must occur with a punctual verb, the verb must be negated. Thus, sentence (3a) is ungrammatical but (3b) is grammatical.

(3a) *John will leave until next Sunday.

(3b) John will not leave until next Sunday.

The affimative embedded sentences of (1b) and (2b) are considered to have been derived from the negative embedded sentences of (1a) and (2a), respectively, by applying the NT.

The above syntactic argument may seem to be quite strong. Although its validity has been questioned,[3] if the NT rule is considered to be applicable to many languages, it will be

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worthwhile to investigate its applicability to Japanese on the basis of the same kind of evidence in which the negative must occur in a simple sentence but not necessarily in a sentence embedded in a negative main sentence with its verb or adjective assumed to be sensitive to the NT rule. If such evidence is found, we might be able to present cross-linguistic evidence in support of the NT rule. On the other hand, if we cannot establish such evidence, then, from the cross-linguistic point of view, the assumption that the NT rule is applicable to many natural languages will become that much weaker. Perhaps, even the argument that supports the NT rule in English will be weakened.

The purpose of this paper then is to investigate whether or not the NT rule is applicable to Japanese. In so doing, it is hoped that the possible Japanese evidence may throw light to the problems of the NT rule in English and that we will be able to critically re-examine the evidence that has been proposed in support of the NT rule in English.

It is well known that in Japanese there are several adverbials and particles which can occur only with the negative or semantically negative verbs and adjectives. Some of them are sika, kesite, tootee, made (the verb must be negated if it is semantically punctual), zenzen, etc. Therefore, the following (a) and (b) sentences reflect a relationship similar to that of (1a) and (1b). for example, because the above adverbials and particles can occur in an affirmative embedded sentence if it is commanded by a certain class of negated verbs or adjectives such as omowanai 'don't think,' kangaenai 'don't think/consider.' or -te moraitaku nai 'don't want to have someone do.' Semantically and syntactically with respect to the NT rule, those verbs seem to behave very similar to the group of verbs in English that are considered to be sensitive to the NT rule. Therefore, the above phrases together with such negated verbs or adjectives seem to present a strong argument for the NT rule in Japanese.

(4a) Eego sika wakaranai to omou.[4]

"(I) think that (he) understands nothing but English."

(4b) Eego sika wakaru to wa omowanai.

"(I) don't think that (he) understands anything but English."

(4c) *Eego sika wakaru.

(5a) Tookyoo e sika ikanakatta to kangaerareru.

"It is considered that (he) went nowhere but to Tokyo."

(5b) Tookyoo e sika itta to wa kangaerarenai.

"It is not considered that (he) went anywhere but to Tokyo./It is considered that (he) went only to to Tokyo."

(6a) Tanaka-san sika konai de moraitai.

"(I) want no one but Mr. Tanaka to come."

(6b) Tanaka-san sika kite moraitaku nai.

"(I) don't want anyone but Mr. Tanaka to come."

(6c) *Tanaka-san sika kuru.

(7a) Rainen made kekkon-dekinai to omou.

"(I) think that (I) will not be able to marry until next year."

(7b) Rainen made kekkon-dekiru to wa omowanai.

"(I) don't think that (I) will be able to marry until next year."

(7c) *Rainen made kekkon-dekiru.

(8a) Sore ga Tanaka-san ni tootee dekinai to omou.

"(I) think that Mr. Tanaka cannot possibly do it."

(8b) Sore ga Tanaka-san ni tootee dekiru to wa omowanai.

"(I) don't think that Mr. Tanaka can possibly do it."

(8c)*Sore ga Tanaka-san ni tootee dekiru.

(9a) Tanaka-san ni kore ga kessite yomenai to watakusi wa kangaeru.

"I think that Mr. Tanaka can never read this."

(9b) Tanaka-san ni kore ga kessite yomeru to wa watakusi wa kangaenai.

"I don't think that Mr. Tanaka can ever read this."

(9c) *Tanaka-san ni kore ga kessite yomeru.

The semantic difference, if it exists, between sentences

(a) and (b) above is very much the same as that between (1a) and (1b) in English. Also, just as the English until phrase co-occurring with a negative punctual verb in a simple sentence, in all of the above examples the phrases sika, made, tootee, and kessite seem to have to satisfy the simplex sentence condition with the negative. The ungrammaticality of (c) sentences stems from the violation of this condition. However, the fact that the embedded sentences in (b) are not in the negative form may suggest that the negative was transportated to the main sentence. Therefore, it might be argued that the NT rule here is quite relevant, and the assumption that the rule is applicable to Japanese also might be maintained.

Thus, at this stage, it may seem reasonable to assume that sentences (a) above underlie sentences (b), and that there is no way to derive (b) sentences without applying the NT rule. Also, if there is any semantic difference between them, it is possible, as George Lakoff suggested,[5] to consider the application of the NT rule as obligatory. The possible difference of meaning between them is that the former express certainty of the embedded sentence statement, while the latter express uncertainty. Therefore, even if there is a semantic difference, it might seem that the NT rule still holds.

What is to be further investigated, however, is the simplex sentence condition that seems necessary for those cited phrases. While it is true that sika in (4c), (5c), and (6c) is impossible, it is also true that in some cases sika may occur in a embedded sentence that has no negative, and yet the embedded sentence may be commanded by a verb quite different from omou type of verbs that might be considered relevant to the NT rule. Thus, observe the following sentences.

(10a) Eego (o) sika hanasanakatta koto ga aru.

"There was a time when (I) spoke nothing but English."

(10b) Eego (o) sika hanasita koto ga nai.

"(I) have spoken nothing but English."

(10c) *Eego (o) sika hanasita.

(11a) Yasai (o) sika tabenakatta keeken ga aru.

"(I) have an experience that (I) ate nothing but vegetables."

(11b) Yasai (o) sika tabeta keeken ga nai.

"(I) don't have (any other) experience but eating

vegetables./ (I) have only eaten vegetables."

(11c) *Ysai (o) sika tabeta.

Notice that in the (b) examples above, the particle sika in the embedded sentence occurs without the negative, although the verb of the main sentence have the negative. The sika phrase there should definitely be interpreted as the direct object of the verb in the embedded sentence. Notice that the direct object marker o can optionally be present. Notice also that the semantic gap between the (a) and (b) sentences above is very different from that between (4a) and (4b), for example.

Although sika must satisfy the simplex sentence condition when it appears in an independent simple sentence, it seems that sika does not have to occur with the negative embedded sentence as long as the embedded sentence occurs in the negative main sentence. This observation means that the negative simplex sentence condition for sika is not something that we can depend upon for the evidence of the NT rule in Japanese, if such a rule exists at all.

It should be emphasized, however, that it is not claimed that sika can occur in any affirmative embedded sentence as long as its main sentence has the negative verb. There seems to be certain restriction on the main sentence verb, which at present is not exactly clear and which is beyond the scope of this paper. With respect to sika, the semantic difference as the result of the position of the negative is not always regular; therefore, it is impossible to consider (10b) as the result of the application of the NT rule to (10a).

Similar examples can be presented with respect other expressions.

(12a) Tanaka-san wa eego o kessite hanasanai koto ga aru.

"There are times when Mr. Tanaka never speaks English."

(12b) Tanaka-san wa eego o kessite hanasu koto ga nai.

"There are never times when Mr. Tanaka speaks English./ Mr. Tanaka never speaks English."

(12c) *Tanaka-san wa eego o kessite hanasu.

(13a) ?Rainen made kekkon-dekinai to yume ni mo omou.

"(I) think even in the dream that (I) will not be able to get married until next year./(I) even dream that (I) will not be able to get married until next year."

(13b) Rainen made kekkon-dekiru to yume ni mo omowanai.

"(I) don't **think even** in the dream that (I) will be able to get married until next year./ (I) don't even dream that (I) will be able to get married until next year."

(13c) *Rainen made kekkon-dekiru.

(14a) ?Watakusi wa Tanaka-san ga tootee katenai to yume ni mo omou.

"I think even in the dream that Mr. Tanaka will not possibly be able to win./ I don't even dream that Mr. Tanaka will possibly be able to win."

(14b) Watakusi wa Tanaka-san ga tootee kateru to wa yume ni mo omowanai.

"I don't think even in the dream that Mr. Tanaka will possibly be able to win./ I don't even dream that Mr. Tanaka will possibly be able to win."

(14c) *Tanaka-san ga tootee kateru.

(14d) Watakusi wa Tanaka-san ga kateru to wa tootee yume ni mo omowanai.

"I don't possibly think even in the dream that Mr. Tanaka will be able to win./ I don't even possibly dream that Mr. Tanaka will be able to win."

Notice again that between sentences (12a) and (12b) the semantic difference is very great and that the adverb kessite in (12b) occurs within the affirmative embedded sentence. It is clear that we cannot derive (12b) from (12a) by simply applying the NT rule. Notice, also, that the embedded sentence in (13b) is perfectly natural with the phrase rainen made, and should we move it out of the embedded sentence to the main sentence, the meaning will become entirely different. Sentence (14b) seems to be a little different from (13b). In fact, it is much closer structurally to (12b) than to (13b). One thing clear, however, is that it cannot be derived from (14a) by applying the NT rule, since the semantic gap between them is too great. Sentence (14d) shows that the adverb tootee is considered to modify the main sentence verb, and in fact, it may be possible to consider tootee in (14b) to be somehow related to tootee in (14d), although it is still considered to exist within the embedded sentence in (14b). Perhaps, sentence (14d) is more natural than (14b), although (14b) is acceptable to many native speakers.

Examples similar to (14) are:

(15a) ?Tanaka-san ga zenzen naoranai daroo to watakusi wa kitai-site ita.

"I was hoping that Mr. Tanaka will not get well at all."

(15b) Tanaka-san ga zenzen naoru daroo to wa watakusi wa kitai-site inakatta.

"I was not expecting that Mr. Tanaka would get well at all./I was not expecting at all that Mr. Tanaka would get well."

(15c) *Tanaka-san ga zenzen naoru daroo.

(15d) Tanaka-san ga naoru daroo to wa watakusi wa zenzen kitai-site inakatta.

"I was not expecting at all that Mr. Tanaka would get well."

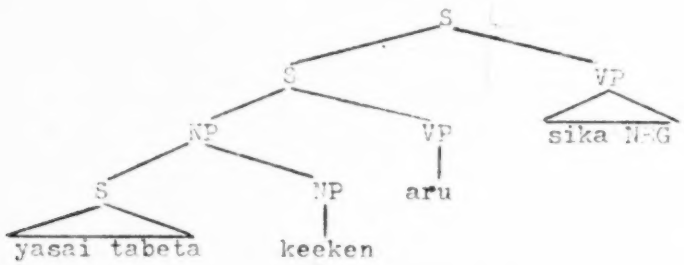
If we assume that Mr. Tanaka in the above sentences is speaker's friend, sentence (15a) will become semantically very strange. This is because the verb kitai-suru has a feature that shows that the expectation must be something good for the speaker. Therefore, sentence (15a) is acceptable only if the speaker hates Mr. Tanaka. However, (15b) and (15d) do not require such a content. The verb kitai-suru, if negated, will simply be equivalent to do not expect. Thus, we can derive neither (15b) nor (15d) from sentence (15a). Although sentence (15d) will be felt to be more natural, (15b) also seems to be acceptable to many native speakers. Notice that the phrase zenzen is within the embedded affirmative sentence.

On the basis of the above examples, it now seems that any argument in support of the possible NT rule in Japanese must fail if its evidence depends upon the claim that the affirmative embedded sentence containing sika, made, kessite, tootee, or zenzen must have been derived from the original negative sentence from which the negative was moved to the main sentence. In connection with this observation, it is interesting to note that in English, too, the simplex sentence condition for the until phrase is not strong enough to support the argument for the NT rule. Faced with an example such as I am not anxious to get married until next year, which is quite different from I am anxious not to get married until next year, the simplex sentence condition for the until phrase seems to fail because anxious is not sensitive to the proposed NT rule in the way think, want, expect, etc. are. Also, the phrase

until next year should not be taken to modify the main sentence predicate, since, if it is so, the sentence must be I will not be anxious to get married until next year.

Since we have observed that phrases like sika, tootee, kessite, made, and zenzen must cooccur with the negative in an independent simple sentence and that they may occur in an affirmative embedded sentence if its main sentence is negated, we are faced with the justification or the explanation of sentences such as (10b), (11b), (12b), (13b), (14b), and (15b). For the purpose of explanation, let us first consider sentence (11b). I consider the underlying form of sentence (11b) to be something like:

(11b')



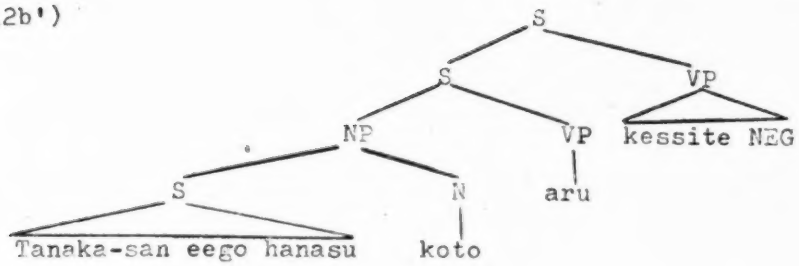
Notice that the phrase sika is still with the negative and I now must use a transformation rule with which we can attach the phrase sika to a lower NP. Such a transformation is rather similar to the wa attachment rule as proposed by Kuroda. Therefore, if in the above structure, sika is attached to the NP keeken, then, we will get Yasai o tabeta keeken sika nai '(I) have only the experience of eating vegetables.' If sika is further attached to the lower NP, yasai, then we will get (11b). The resulting difference of the meaning between those two sentences seems to be minimal.

Sentence (10b) can be explained in a similar way. If sika is attached to the noun koto, then we will get Eego o hanasita koto sika nai '(I) have only the experience of speaking English.' In sentence (10b) sika is further lowered to the noun eego. The semantic difference between the two is again minimal.

In fact, sika attachment may be considered for adverbs, too, and although there are certain restrictions as reflected in the examples such as *Tookyoo sika e as over against Tookyoo e sika 'only to Tokyo,' nothing further will be mentioned on this problem, since it is not really central to the issue in this paper.

Sentence (12b) can be explained in a similar way since kessite also occurs with the negative, and it can be attached to appropriate verbs (or adjectives) in the lower sentences. Therefore, sentence (12b) may be analyzed as (12b'), which is very similar to the analysis of (11b') above.

(12b')



Therefore, (12b) can be related to a sentence like Tanaka-san ga eego hanasu koto ga kessite nai 'There never is an occasion that Mr. Tanaka speaks English,' in which kessite is attached to the verb immediately commanded by kessite. If kessite is further lowered, we will get sentence (12b). The semantic difference between the two is again minimal.

Sentences (14b) and (15b) may be explained in the same way as (11b) and (12b). However, sentence (13b) requires a different kind of explanation. In fact, in order to explain it, we must take into consideration the following discussion. We will, therefore, come back to (13b) later.

In defense of the NT rule in English Robin Lakoff[6] proposed the argument different from the simplex sentence condition for the until phrase. She considered that the English non-sarcastic tag question co-occurring with a performative verb that has the meaning of suppose constitutes evidence for the existence of the NT rule. Thus, for example, sentence (16) as given by Lakoff is grammatical.

(16) I don't suppose the Yankees will win, will they?

In general, a positive statement has its tag question in the negative form and vice versa. The grammaticality of sentence (16) above, however, suggests that the negative was in the embedded sentence and that the tag question was formed before the NT rule was applied. A sentence such as (17a) can also be explained in the same way if the parenthetical element I suppose in (17b) and (17c) is considered to be an abstract element. In this case, it is considered that the tag formation applied without moving the negative out of the embedded sentence which is commanded by the abstract verb suppose.

(17a) John doesn't think that the Yankees will win, does he?

(17b) (I suppose) ((John thinks) (NEG The Yankees will win))

(17c) (I suppose) ((John doesn't think) (The Yankees will win))

It is considered that (17b) underlies (17a), and the NT rule first applies to (17b), since think is a verb sensitive to such a rule. Then (17c) will be produced and the negative now is commanded by the performative verb suppose, and the tag question formation rule must apply. The further NT rule does not apply since the element I suppose is abstract. The final output then is sentence (17a). There is no discrepancy between the derivations of sentences (16) and (17a).

Although in Japanese the problem of tag questions is somewhat different, a similar situation exists with respect to Japanese "confirmatory" questions by which the speaker seeks confirmation of something that he thinksis true. For example:

(18) Sore wa Amerika ni mo aru to omoimasu ga arimasen ka.

"(I) think that it exists in America, too, but does it not exist (there)?"

Just like English tag questions, the Japanese confirmatory questions have the negative form if the preceding statement is positive, and vice versa. The underlined part of sentence (18) is considered to be a confirmatory question. In fact, one may call such a question a kind of tag question in Japanese although I would like to separate such a confirmatory question from desyoo? and ne?, which behave uniformly regardless of the form of the preceding statement, and which are occasionally called tag questions. However, since there is a basic similarity between the Japanese confirmatory question and the English tag question with respect to their negative-affirmative forms, it seems appropriate to investigate the Japanese confirmatory question in oder to evaluate the validity of the NT rule in Japanese. Therefore, let us examine the following sentences.

(19a) Tanaka-san ga katenai to watakusi wa omou keredo katemasu ka.

"I think that Mr. Tanaka cannot win, but can (he) win?"

(19b) *Tanaka-san ga kateru to watakusi wa omowanai keredo omoimasu ka.

"I don't think that Mr. Tanaka can win, but do (I) think so?"

(19c) Tanaka-san ga kateru to watakusi wa omowanai keredo katemasu ka.

"I don't think that Mr. Tanaka can win, but can (he) win?"

(20) Tanaka-san ga kateru to Simizu-san ga omotte inai to omou keredo Simizu-san wa soo omotte imasu ka.

"(I) think that Mr. Shimizu does not think that Mr. Tanaka can win, but does Mr. Shimizu think so?"

(21) ?Tanaka-san ga kateru to Simizu-san ga omotte inai keredo Simizu-san wa soo omotte imasu ka.

"Mr. Shimizu does not think that Mr. Tanaka can win, but does Mr. Shimizu think so?"

The above examples show that the behavior of the Japanese confirmatory questions are very similar to that of English tag questions. Notice that the antecedent sentence of the affirmative confirmatory question in (19c) is an affirmative sentence embedded in a negative main sentence, which is similar to sentence (16). Also, the affirmative confirmatory question of (20) is contrasted to the negative embedded sentence, which is identical to the situation of (17a) derived from (17b). However, the questionable status of sentence (21) suggests that in Japanese the consideration of the existence of the abstract element for a sentence like (21), which actually should correspond to sentence (17a) as far as its form is concerned, is difficult. However, as reflected in sentence (20), as long as we have an actual element omou, which corresponds to the actual occurrence of I suppose in English, the Japanese confirmatory question behaves the same as the English tag question with respect to the form.

If Robin Lakoff's contention is correct, then, it seems that it applies perfectly well to examples in Japanese, and the English evidence for the NT rule seems to be cross-linguistically supported. On the other hand, the Japanese evidence for the NT rule may seem to be supported by the English evidence. We might also suppose that the ordering of the application of the NT rule with respect to the confirmatory question formation in Japanese is exactly the same as that of English with respect to its tag question formation. Thus, sentence (19c) can be considered to have been formed by the following processes: 1) form the confirmatory question, 2) move the negative out of the embedded sentence commanded by omou, which seems to come closest to the English performative suppose proposed by Lakoff. Therefore, sentence (20) should be thought of as being formed without applying the final NT rule with respect to the "performative" verb of the main sentence. It is, therefore, possible to apply a further NT rule to derive the following.

(22) Tanaka-san ga kateru to Simizu-san ga omotte iru to omowanai keredo Simizu-san wa soo omotte imasu ka.

"(I) don't think that Mr. Shimizu thinks that Mr. Tanaka can win, but does Mr. Shimizu think so?"

It is true that the examples so far seem to support the NT rule in Japanese and that the English tag question formation as evidence for the NT rule seems to have a strong cross-linguistic support. However, there are examples in which the negative cannot be thought of as being derived from the embedded sentence. In such examples the negative must be considered to be derived from the higher sentence.

(23) Watakusi wa Taroo ga koohuku da to kessite omowanakatta keredo hukoo da to mo yume ni mo omowanakatta.

"I never thought that Tarō was happy but (I) did not think even in the dream that (he) was unhappy, either./I never thought that Tarō was happy but (I) did not even dream that (he) was unhappy, either."

Notice that in the above sentence, if the negative is considered to be derived from the embedded sentences, then the meaning of the sentence becomes entirely different. I am particularly interested in the second part of the sentence. Suppose that we move the negative into the embedded sentence, then the second part of the sentence will become as follows:

(24) ? ... hukoo de nai to yume ni mo omotta.

"(I) thought even in the dream that (he) was not unhappy./(I) even dreamed that (he) was not unhappy."

Since the difference of the meaning between (23) and (24) with respect to the second part is so big, it will be meaningless to talk about the negative transportation in order to relate those sentences. In fact, the naturalness of sentence (24) is even questionable, and only a forced reading leads us to the interpretation given above. However, even if we consider sentence (24) grammatical, we cannot relate sentences (23) and (24) by the NT rule in the same way as we would do to relate sentences (1a) and (1b), for example. Therefore, it is impossible to consider the negative in sentence (23) as having originated in the embedded sentence.

If we try to form a confirmatory question from sentence (23), we will get (25).

(25) Watakusi wa Taroo ga koohuku da to kessite omowanakatta keredo hukoo da to mo yume ni mo omowanakatta ga Taroo wa hukoo desita ka?

"I never thought that Tarō was happy, but (I) didn't

think even in the dream that (he) was unhappy, either, but was Tarō unhappy?/ I never thought that Tarō was happy, but (I) didn't even dream that (he) was unhappy, either, but was Tarō unhappy?"

Notice that the confirmatroy question is till in the affirmative form in spite of the fact that the embedded sentence commanded by omou could not have contained the negative in the underlying form. This observation seems to be crucial. Faced with such an example, the seemingly plausible generalization of the NT rule based on the confirmatory question in Japanese must fail. Also, the ordering of the rules of the NT and the confirmatory question becomes simply vacuous.

This observation leads us to suspect that similar examples may exist in English tag questions. Thus, observe the following.

(26) I didn't think she was not capable but I didn't think she was capable, either, was she?

(27) *I didn't think she was not capable but I thought she was not capable, either, was she?

Notice that the negative of the second half of sentence (26) could not have originated in the embedded sentence as evidenced by the ungrammaticality or anomalousness of sentence (27), in which the negative is in the embedded sentence. Yet, the tag question is in the affirmative form. It seems, therefore, that sentences (26) and (27) are strong counterexamples to Lakoff's proposal, and that they are cross-linguistically supported counterexamples. At this point, then, Lakoff's proposal must be seriously questioned.

If we reject Lakoff's proposal, the question now to be asked is why sentences like (19c) and (16) are grammatical. If the negative could not have originated in the embedded sentence, why are the confirmatory question and the tag question in the affirmative form? This is a difficult question. However, there may be an explanation if we consider the matter of inference actually affecting the form of our speech everyday. For example, in English the following conversations are quite normal.

(28) Speaker A. The baby was a girl.

Speaker B. Who does she look like?

(29) Speaker A. The baby was not a boy.

Speaker B. Who does she look like?

It is not claimed that the two conversations are identi-

cal. At least, the presupposition seems to be different. However, in sentence (29) the pronoun she is used although there is no noun to be pronominalized by that pronoun. Apparently, the statement by speaker A in (29) is interpreted the same way as that of conversation (28). In other words, the phrase not a boy inferred to girl, which in turn is pronominalized.

If we follow the same kind of reasoning, it seems that a sentence like (19c) can be explained along with sentences (25) and (26). The generalization will be that there exists a group of omou-like (or suppose-like) verbs which inferentially work with respect to the first person subject as follows:

(30) S --> (-S) / -V ____

where V commands S.

The above is to say that the sentence commanded by one of those verbs in the negative form receives a mild negative interpretation by inference. In fact, it is possible that such a verb may be in the affirmative form, if it is semantically negative anyway. Therefore, sentences like I doubt that the Yankees will win, will they? or Tanaka-san ga kyoo kuru koto wa utagawasii keredo kimasu ka, 'It is doubtful that Mr. Tanaka will come today, but will he come?' seem to be grammatical.

On the basis of such an inference, it is considered that the embedded sentence in (19c), for example, interpreted inferentially as a mildly negative statement is now paired with the confirmatory question in the affirmative form. Therefore, it becomes entirely unnecessary to ask a question as to where the negative originated from. In this way, we may be able to explain the grammaticality of sentence (26) also.

It seems to me that this co-occurrence of some actual element with an inferred element in a sentence is responsible for the grammaticality of the sentence I am not anxious to get married until next year. Following (30), and considering that the word anxious is one of those verbs mentioned above, it will be possible to interpret inferentially the embedded sentence of I am not anxious to get married as something like 'I won't get married,' which can then coexist with the phrase until next year.

Sentence (13b) which we left unexplained in the previous page may now be accounted for. The embedded sentence there inferentially receives a negative interpretation, which in turn co-occurs with the made phrase that can most normally occur with semantically durative verbs.

Summarizing, the condition that sika, kessite, tootee, made and zenzen must co-occur with the negative within a simple sentence, which is reminiscent of the similar simplex sentence condition for until in English, is not always main-

tained with respect to the embedded sentence and, therefore, we cannot rely upon such a condition to support the rule of negative transportation. Also, confirmatory questions in Japanese, which behave quite similar to English tag questions, cannot support the rule of negative transportation. These observations throw light cross-linguistically to the problem of English and it seems that in English also the evidence proposed so far for the support of not-transportation is to be seriously questioned. As a possible solution for the sentences with sika, kessite, tootee, and zenzen which cannot be explained by the NT rule, they are proposed to originate in the higher sentence together with the negative, and then later, they are lowered appropriately. Also, instead of explaining the confirmatory question in Japanese and the tag question in English by means of the NT rule, it is proposed that their respective grammatical forms be explained on the basis of the inferential co-occurrence.

If the line of thinking as presented in this paper turns out to be valid, then we will have a case in which semantic interpretation may be preceded and followed by transformations, and even a co-occurrence restriction may sometimes be accounted for only after certain semantic interpretations.

Footnotes

1. See C. Fillmore, 1963; G. Carden, 1968; R. Jackendoff, 1971; E. Klima, 1964; G. Lakoff, 1968, 1970; R. Lakoff, 1969; J. Lindholm, 1968.

2. Along with such an assumption, it is important to note that the NT rule applies cyclically. It may also be applied only after a negative attraction rule is applied. Thus, a sentence like I don't think he bought the car knowing its defects may be derived from I think he bought the car not knowing its defects by applying the negative attraction rule, and then the negative transportation rule to the highest S commanded by think. The same kind of phenomena can be observed in Japanese as well. Thus: John ga nihongo o sitte ite Nihon e itta to wa omowanai,'I don't think that John went to Japan knowing the Japanese language,' may be derived from John ga nihongo o siranai de Nihon e itta to omou, 'I think that John went to Japanenot knowing (i.e. without knowing) the Japanese language.' Needless to say, there are other readings for those sentences, but they are not relevant to our problem.

3. See Jackendoff, 1971.

4. The translation from Japanese to English is not intended to be exactly idiomatic, but where it is considered to be desirable, a more idiomatic alternative translation is supplied. Most of the translations are hopefully to preserve the phrase by phrase meanings of the Japanese example sentences. Also, some examples in Japanese may contain wa with respect to the negative main sentence. This wa is not particularly discussed in this paper since it is not directly related to our primary interest in this paper. Wa used for some examples only seems to make the cited examples more natural.

5. G. Lakoff, 1970.

6. R. Lakoff, 1969.

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